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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a review of the research concerning the effects of maternal employment on the child. Findings are organized around five theories: (1) the working mother provides a different role model than the non-working mother; (2) employment affects the mother's emotional state (sometimes providing satisfactions, sometimes harassment, and sometimes guilt) and this, in turn, influences the mother-child interaction; (3) the different situational demands as well as the emotional state of the working mother will affect child rearing practices; (4) working mothers provide less adequate supervision; and (5) the working mother's absence will result in emotional and possibly cognitive deprivation for the child. Evidence cited supports the first four theories. (Author/SET)

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THE EFFECTS OF MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT ON THE CHILD--A REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

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Abstract

Research on the effects of maternal employment on the child are reviewed. Findings are organized around five theories: (1) the working mother provides a different role model than the nonworking mother, (2) employment affects the mother's emotional state—sometimes providing satisfactions, sometimes harassment, and sometimes guilt--and this, in turn, influences the mother-child interaction; (3) the different situational demands as well as the emotional state of the working mother will affect child-rearing practices; (4) working mothers provide less adequate supervision; and (5) the working mother's absence will result in emotional and possibly cognitive deprivation for the child. Accumulated evidence, although sketchy and inadequate, offer some support for the first four theories. Empirical studies of school aged children yield no evidence for a theory of deprivation resulting from maternal employment, but there are not adequate data on the effects of maternal employment on the infant.

The effects of maternal employment on the child--a review of the research

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In our previous review of the literature on the effects of maternal employment on the child it was pointed out that the earlier view that maternal employment had a great many effects on the child--all of them bad, had been replaced by a new outlook--that maternal employment had no effects at all (Hoffman, 1963b). An underlying assumption of the review was that maternal employment did have an effect. The effects might be good, bad, or incapable of evaluation but we were not prepared to concede that there was no effect until the research questions had been properly defined and explored. The effects of maternal employment, it was pointed out, depend on the surrounding circumstances. What the effect is depends on the nature of the employment, the attitude of the working mother, her family circumstances, the social class, whether employment is full or part time, the age and sex of the child, the kinds of child care arrangements that are set up, and a whole host of other conditions. While studies of maternal employment as a general concept yielded little, it was suggested that examining the effects under specified conditions might prove more fruitful. To demonstrate, we tried to show that when the relationships between maternal employment and a child characteristic were examined separately for various subgroups, interesting patterns were revealed. Thus, juvenile delinquency did seem to relate to maternal employment in the middle class, although it did not in the lower class. Part time maternal employment seemed to have a positive effect on adolescent children although this was not equally true for full time employment, or younger children. The lack of consistent findings with respect to the effects on the child's independence or academic achievement was tied to the failure to examine these relationships separately for each sex. And, the mother's attitude toward employment was seen as an important aspect of the situation that would affect her childrearing behavior and thus mediate the impact of her employment on the child.

It was our hope that these speculations as well as others in the chapter would give rise to new empirical investigations, but the intervening years have been disappointing. There have been few studies of maternal employment. About the same time that The Employed Mother in America was published three other reviews appeared: Stolz, 1960; Siegel and Haas, 1963; and Yudkin and Holme, 1963.

And it may be that the over-all impression was not that maternal employment required more careful study, but that it should not be studied at all. Among the more recent studies reviewed here, most were only incidentally interested in the effects of maternal employment on the child, and the few that focused on this variable are modest in scope.

On the positive side, it was previously noted that segments of the American population that contributed more than an equal share of the working mothers--Blacks and single-parent families in particular--were not studied at all. A few investigators have begun to fill this gap (Kreisberg, 1970; Rieber and Womock, 1967; Smith, 1969; Woods, 1972).

Moreover, there have been some methodological improvements. Few studies today would lump boys and girls together, and most consider relationships separately for each social class. Several studies, in fact, focused only on one class--the professional mother being a particularly popular subject currently (Birnbaum, 1971; Garland, 1972; Hoffman, 1973; Holmstrom, 1972; Jones, Lundsteen, & Michael, 1967; Poloma, 1972; Rappaport & Rappaport, 1972). These studies, in turn, have revealed the need to consider both the education of the parents and the nature of the mother's job. The new studies indicate that the mother who works as a professional has a very different influence than one who works in a less intellectually demanding and less prestigeful position. Since women's jobs often under-utilize their talents and training, education and the nature of the job are important singly and also in interaction.

Even methodologically, however, the studies leave much to be desired. None of the new studies used behavioral observations, for example. Very few controlled on family size or ordinal position although these variables have previously been found to relate to both maternal employment and most of the child characteristics studied. Failure to match on these may give an advantage to the working mother since her family is smaller, and small family size contributes positively to cognitive abilities particularly in the lower class (Clauson & Clauson, 1973). The need to control on more than one variable simultaneously is also apparent in a number of reports, while the crudeness of the social class control is a problem in others.

But the most distressing aspect of the current research situation is the lack of theory. The typical study uses the sniper approach—maternal employment is run against whatever other variables are at hand. These are usually scores on intelligence tests or personality inventories. Even when a

study indicates a complex pattern of findings or results counter to the accumulated research, the data are simply reported with no attempt to explain the pattern or reconcile the discrepancy.

Furthermore, the typical study involves just two levels--the mother's employment status and a child characteristic. There are actually many steps that take place in between--the family roles and interaction patterns, the child's perceptions, the mother's feelings about her employment, the child-rearing practices--but these are rarely measured. As we have indicated in a previous publication (Hoffman & Lippitt, 1960), the distance between an antecedent condition like maternal employment and a child characteristic is too great to be covered in a single leap. Several levels should be examined in any single study to obtain adequate insight into the process involved.

To help counteract the generally atheoretical aspect of so much of the maternal employment research, the present review will try to organize the data around theoretical formulations.

Theories about the Effects of Maternal Employment on the Child

What is the process by which maternal employment might affect the child? The theories, whether implicit or explicit, that seem to guide the research and discussion can be classified into five general forms:

1. Because the mother is employed she, and possibly her husband, provide a different model of behavior for the children in the family. Children learn sex-role behavior largely from their parents. To the extent that a different role is carried out by the working mother than the nonworking mother, the child will have a different conception of what the female role is. The self concept of girls will be particularly affected.

2. The mother's emotional state will be influenced by whether or not she is employed, and this will affect her interaction with her children.

3. It is likely that there will be differences in childrearing practices between employed and nonemployed mothers not only because the mother's emotional state is different but also because the situational demands are different.

4. Because the working mother is absent from the home regularly and probably more often than the nonworking mother, the working mother will provide less personal supervision of her child than the nonworking mother; and the hypotheses usually assume it will be less adequate.

5. Again, because the working mother is absent

from the home regularly and probably more often, the child will be emotionally deprived or perceive her absence as rejection.

In the sections that follow we will examine each of these theories and report the relevant research.

The ultimate dependent variables that have been considered in these studies--that is, the child characteristics that are the focus of attention--can be classified as follows: the child's social attitudes and values; the child's general mental health and social adjustment; independence or dependence specifically; and the child's cognitive abilities, achievement motivation, and intellectual performance.

The Working Mother as Role Model

Ruth Hartley has observed that one experience common to all children of working mothers is that they "are exposed to a female parent who implements a social role not implemented by the female parents of other children" (1961, p. 42). One implication of this point is that since the child learns sex roles from observations of his parents, maternal employment influences the child's concept of the female role. Further, and more importantly, since one of the earliest statuses assigned to the child is that of gender, maternal employment presumably affects the female child's concept of herself and the behavior expected of her.

There is an impressive array of data to support this theory. Hartley's own findings indicate that daughters of working mothers, in comparison to daughters of nonworking mothers, are more likely to say that both men and women typically engage in each of a wide variety of specified adult activities ranging from using a sewing machine to using a gun and from selecting home furnishings to climbing mountains. That is, the daughters of working mothers indicated more equalitarian participation of men and women. They saw women as less restricted to their homes and more active in the world outside.[1]

That the division of labor between the husband and wife is affected by maternal employment is well established. Husbands of employed women help more in household tasks including child care. There remains considerable traditionalism in the division of labor and working women engage in more domestic tasks than their husbands, but the division of household tasks is nonetheless more egalitarian where the mother is employed (Blood & Hamblin, 1958; Hall & Schroeder, 1970; Holmstrom, 1972; Kliger, 1954; Szolai, 1966; Walker, 1970; Weil, 1961). Furthermore, this difference is reflected in the children's perceptions, as indicated by the fact that it has been obtained when the children in the family

are the respondents as in Hoffman's (1963a)study of children in the third through sixth grades, and Finkelman's (1967) more recent study of fifth and sixth graders. Children of employed mothers are more likely to approve of maternal employment (Duvall, 1955; Mathews, 1934) and King, McIntyre, & Axelson (1968) report that ninth graders whose mothers worked viewed maternal employment as less threatening to the marital relationship. These investigators also found that the greater the father's participation in household tasks, the more accepting of maternal employment were the adolescent boys and girls.

There is, furthermore, considerable evidence that the daughters of working mothers view work as something they will want to do when they are mothers. This was reported by Hartley in her study of elementary school children, and in four studies of adolescent girls (Banducci, 1967; Bellow, 1969; Peterson, 1958; & Smith, 1968). It has also been found in college women (Almquist and Angrist, 1971; Zissus, 1964) and as a background factor among working professional women (Astin, 1969; Birnbaum, 1971). Furthermore, Douvan (1963) and Roy (1963) found that adolescent daughters of working mothers were, in fact, more likely to be already employed.

Another closely related group of findings deal with the attitudes toward women's roles in general. Are working mother's children as likely to endorse a traditional or stereotypic view of women? Douvan, who stressed the modeling theory as the important link between the mother's employment status and the child's personality, found that the daughters of working mothers scored low on an index of traditional femininity.[2] Vogel, Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz (1970) studied the relationship between the sex-role perceptions held by male and female college students and their mothers' employment. Sex-role perceptions were measured by a questionnaire in which subjects were asked to characterize the typical adult male and the typical adult female by checking a point along a continuum between two bipolar descriptions. Previous work with this scale had indicated which descriptions were more typically assigned to each sex and also which aspects of each stereotype were seen as positive or negative traits. In general, the positively valued stereotypes about males included items that reflected effectiveness and competence; the highly valued female-associated items described warmth and expressiveness. The results indicated that both men and women with employed mothers perceived significantly smaller differences between men and women, with the women being more affected

PS 007012

by maternal employment than the men. Furthermore, the effect of maternal employment was to raise the estimation of one's own sex, that is, each sex added those traits usually associated with the opposite sex that were positive--daughters of working mothers saw women as competent and effective while sons of working mothers saw men as warm and expressive.

This result is quite consistent with a finding of another interesting study of college women--this one by Baruch (1972a). Subjects in Baruch's study were administered a measure developed by Goldberg (1967) in which they are presented with a number of journal articles and asked to judge the quality of the article and of the author. Half of the articles are given female names as authors and half are given male names. Previous research by Goldberg had indicated that college women tend to attach a lower value to the articles attributed to women authors. Baruch found that the daughters of employed women were significantly different from the daughters of full-time housewives in that they did not downgrade the articles attributed to women. Thus, the daughters of working mothers were less likely to assume lower competence on the part of women authors; "...it is women whose mothers have not worked who devalue feminine competence" (p. 37). Meier (1972) also found among college students that maternal employment was positively related to favoring social equality for women. The most equalitarian ideology was held by the daughters of women in high status occupations.

Studies of the relationship between maternal employment and sex-role ideology have not always yielded clear-cut results particularly when the sex-role ideology scale is multi-dimensional. For example, Baruch, as part of the above study, developed a 26-item Likert-type scale to measure attitudes toward careers for women. This scale, which she refers to as "attitude toward the dual role pattern," dealt with the desirability of a career orientation in women, the compatibility of the career and family roles, the femininity of the career woman, and women's ability to achieve intellectual excellence. The scores on this scale were not related to maternal employment per se, but rather a positive attitude toward the dual role resulted when the respondent's mother worked and also had successfully integrated the two roles.

Similarly, with a somewhat comparable sample--in this case wives of graduate students in the Boston area--Limpen-Blumen (1972) found no relationship between the employment of the woman's mother and responses on a different multi-dimensional measure of sex-role ideology. This measure consisted of a scale of six items dealing with the issues of whether women belong in the home carrying out domestic duties and child care, with men responsible for the financial support of the family; and whether men and women are "ideally

egalitarian" (p. 35). In an earlier study, Hoffman (1963a) used two separate scales dealing with similar issues—one pertaining to attitudes toward the husband-wife division of labor and the other, attitudes toward male dominance. These two measures were given to mothers, not daughters, and to a less educated and more representative sample than Lipmen-Blumen's, and the expected relationship was found, though only for the first scale. That is, working mothers favored a less traditional division of labor than nonworking mothers; but no relation was obtained between employment and attitudes toward male dominance. Possibly Lipmen-Blumen failed to find a relationship because her scale included both of these aspects. It would be interesting to know if a relationship between the mother's employment and the daughter's scores would be obtained if the egalitarian items were excluded.

Not only is the role represented by the working mother different in content from the role represented by the nonworking mother, a factor which in itself would be expected to lead to different perceptions and attitudes, but the motivation to model the working mother appears to be stronger. Thus, Douvan (1963) found that adolescent daughters of working mothers were more likely to name their mothers as the person they most admire; and Baruch (1972b) found that college women with working mothers were more likely to name their mothers as the parent they most resemble, and the one they would most want to be like.

It is clear that the effects of maternal employment considered in this light must be different for males and females. For one thing, although maternal employment might affect all children's concepts of the woman's role, it should affect only the girls' self-concept--unless the mother's working also reflects something about the father. Douvan found that lower-class boys whose mothers work full-time are less likely than those whose mothers do not work to name their father as the person they most admire. It is primarily in the lower class that the mother's employment may communicate to the child that the father is an economic failure. McCord, McCord, and Thurber (1963) also found in their study of lower class boys from intact families that the sons of employed women were significantly more likely to indicate disapproval of their fathers. Since these two studies were done, maternal employment has become much more prevalent and it might therefore be expected that the finding would no longer be obtained. However, two recent Canadian studies report the same pattern. Kappel and Lambert (1972) found that the sons of full-time working mothers in the lower class evaluated their fathers lower than the sons of other full-time working mothers and lower than the sons of the part-time or nonworking mothers in any class.[3] And Propper (1972), in a predominantly working class sample, found that the

adolescent sons of full-time working mothers were less likely than the sons of nonworking mothers to name their father as the man they most admire. The finding by Vogel and his colleagues discussed previously suggests, on the other hand, that at least among middle-class males the father whose wife works may be seen as a more nurturant figure possibly because of his taking over some of the child-care roles. In any case, maternal employment more clearly defines the mother's role change than the father's, and thus the effect on the daughter appears to be more pronounced.

In view of the findings mentioned thus far the paucity of research on the effect of maternal employment on the daughter's self-esteem is surprising. Furthermore, the few attempts to examine this relationship have not always found the expected results. Thus, Baruch found no relationship between maternal employment and the self-esteem of college women as measured by the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory. She reported that the daughters of working mothers with positive career attitudes tended to have higher self-esteem but even this relationship was not statistically significant. Kappel and Lambert, using a semantic-differential style self-esteem measure with 3315 nine-to-sixteen-year-old Canadian children, found that the daughters of nonworking mothers were lower in self-esteem than the daughters of part-time working mothers but higher than the daughters of full-time working mothers. The daughters of full-time working mothers did have higher self-esteem than the nonworking group, however, when any one of the following conditions existed: the mother worked for self-oriented reasons, was very satisfied with work, or was a professional.

Despite the inconclusive findings on self-esteem, for girls maternal employment seems to contribute to a greater admiration of the mother, a concept of the female role which includes less restriction and a wider range of activities, and a self-concept which incorporates these aspects of the female role. Douvan found the adolescent daughters of working mothers to be relatively independent, autonomous, and active and there are suggestions from other studies that this may be true for younger girls as well (Hoffman, 1963b). For boys, maternal employment might influence their concept of the female role, but what the effects will be on their attitudes toward their father and themselves depends very much on the circumstances surrounding the mother's employment.

It would seem to follow from the foregoing that the daughter of a working mother would have higher academic and career aspirations and show a higher level of actual achievement. Considerable evidence for this comes from

studies of college women. Almquist and Angrist (1971) found that career-oriented college women were more likely to be the daughters of working women; and Tangri (1969) found that college women who aspired for careers in the less conventionally feminine areas were more likely to be the daughters of working women. In studies of highly educated professional women, both Ginzberg (1971) and Birnbaum (1972) found maternal employment a significant background factor.

Studies of the achievement motivation or academic success of younger children provide neither overwhelming support nor clear refutation of role-model explanation. On the whole the data are consistent with such a theory, but the investigations have not been designed to pinpoint the process by which the independent and dependent variables are linked. Thus, many studies do not examine the relationships separately for male and female subjects--an essential step for applying the results to the role-model theory. For example, Powell (1963) obtained measures of achievement motivation scored from a projective test. The data were collected from the subjects at each of the following ages: nine, ten, eleven, and twelve. The children of working mothers had higher achievement motives but the relationship was significant only for the nine-year-olds. However, even though Powell was working from a modeling theory the data were not reported separately by sex. Jones, Lundsteen, and Michael (1967) using a measure similar to Powell's compared sixth grade children of professionally employed mothers with a matched sample of children whose mothers were full-time housewives. The children of professional women showed a higher achievement motive but the difference was not statistically significant. It seems likely that the relationship would have been stronger in these two studies if the girls were examined alone.

In some cases the predicted child behavior may not be found because there is a counter influence at work. For example, the study by Kappel and Lambert (1972) suggests that when the mother's employment involves conflict and difficulties, as is sometimes the situation with full-time employment, the daughter's self-esteem is not enhanced.

In other cases, the empirical data seem to support the role-model theory, but other processes may be at work that could also explain the result. For example, the study by Jones, Lundsteen, and Michael (1967) showed that children

of professional mothers were better readers than the children of full-time housewives. Although their subjects were matched by socio-economic status, the professional mothers were better educated than the housewives, more time was spent with the child in reading activities, and their homes included more books. One wonders whether modeling was the process involved or the more stimulating home environment that the professionally employed mothers provided. In short, while the roles carried out by parents in the employed-mother family may serve as an influence in a particular direction, there are other factors associated with maternal employment that might exert influence in the same direction. As noted earlier, the conceptual gap between maternal employment and a child trait is too great to be covered in the simple two-variable studies that still prevail in the social sciences. A better test of the theory would require examining the many intervening steps in the modeling process: the content of the roles, the attitudes toward the roles, the child's motivations to model various aspects of the roles, and the development in the child of the skills needed to implement the appropriate behaviors.

Despite the deficiencies in the research it does seem clear that when a mother works she provides a different model of behavior for the children in the family--particularly for the girls. Further, the hypothesis that this difference is important for the daughter's concept of sex roles, and thus presumably her self concept, makes sense. The past few years have seen abundant evidence accumulate that the traditional sex-role stereotype in America assigns women a lower status than men and includes the view that women are less competent. Maslow, Rand, and Newman (1960) described as one effect, "...the woman in order to be a good female may feel it necessary to give up her strength, intelligence or talent, fearing them as somehow masculine and defeminizing." Another effect has been empirically documented by Horner (1971)--that women who dare to achieve do so with anxiety and ambivalence about their success. The role of working mother is less likely to lead to traditional sex-role stereotypes, and more likely to communicate competence and the value of the woman's contribution to the family. She may have higher status in the family and represent to her daughter a person who is capable in areas that are, in some respects, more salient to a growing girl than are household skills.

To summarize: considering the four major dependent variables from the standpoint of the role-model theory, the data indicate that maternal employment is associated with less traditional sex-role concepts, more approval of maternal employment, and a higher evaluation of female competence. This in turn

should imply a more positive self-concept for the daughters of working mothers and better social adjustment but there are only indirect data on this. There is some support for the idea that daughters of working mothers are more independent because of modeling their more independent mothers. Evidence also suggests that the daughters of working mothers have higher achievement aspirations, but it has not yet been demonstrated that the actual abilities of the child are affected by the different role-model provided by the working mother.

The Mother's Emotional State

Morale. The assumption that the mother's emotional state will be influenced by whether or not she is employed and that this will affect her adequacy as a mother, underlies several different theoretical approaches. One set of theories, for example, relies on the commonly accepted belief that good morale improves job performance. Since this theory has validity in the industrial setting (Roethlisberger & Dickson, 1939), why not in the home? In fact, there is some support for it. Yarrow, Scott, DeLeeuw, and Heinig (1962) examined, by means of interviews with mothers of elementary school children, the childrearing patterns of four groups of mothers: mothers who worked and preferred to work, mothers who worked and preferred not to work, nonworking mothers who preferred to work, and nonworking mothers who preferred not to work. Among the nonworking mothers, satisfaction with their lot made a significant difference: the satisfied nonworking mothers obtained higher scores on a measure of adequacy of mothering. However, satisfaction did not differentiate the working mothers. In interpreting these results it is important to consider that at the time the study was conducted it was more socially acceptable to say "Yes, I am working but I wish I could be home all the time with my children" than it was to say "Yes, I am home all day with my children, but I wish I were out working." Thus, some of the dissatisfied workers may not have been as dissatisfied as they indicated. By the same token, the dissatisfaction of the homemaker may have been more extreme, and her dissatisfaction more closely linked to the mothering role itself; that is, the very role with which she was indicating dissatisfaction included mothering. Indeed, of all four groups, the lowest scores on adequacy of mothering were obtained by the dissatisfied homemaker. (The highest, by the satisfied homemaker). Furthermore, the investigators considered the motives for choosing full-time homemaking: those women who stressed "duty" as the basis for the choice had the lowest scores of all.

The question of the dissatisfied nonworking mother, raised by this study, is interesting. Would the working mother who enjoys her work be dissatisfied as a full-time homemaker? For the practical decision about whether to work or not, this may be the real issue; and the Yarrow data suggest that the satisfied working mother may not be as adequate a parent as the satisfied nonworking mother but she is more adequate than the dissatisfied nonworking mother. A very interesting study was recently completed by Birnbaum (1971). The subjects were educated middle class women and the findings cannot be generalized to other groups. Professionally employed mothers are compared with mothers who had graduated from college "with distinction" but became full-time homemakers. The reason that the comparison group included only those who graduated with distinction was to insure that these were women who had the ability to pursue professional careers had they so chosen. Both groups were about fifteen to twenty-five years past their bachelor's degree at the time they were interviewed. With respect to "morale", the professional women were clearly higher. The nonworking mothers had lower self-esteem, a lower sense of personal competence--including even the sense of competence about child care skills, felt less attractive, expressed more concern over identity issues, and indicated greater feelings of loneliness. Furthermore, it might be noted that the nonworking mothers were even more insecure and unhappy in these respects than a sample of professional women who had never married. In response to a question about what they felt was missing from their lives, the predominant answer from the two groups of professional women was <u>time</u>, but for the housewives it was challenge and creative involvement.

The mothers were also compared with repect to orientation toward their children. In response to the question "How does having children change a woman's life" the full-time homemakers stressed the sacrifice that motherhood entailed, significantly more often than the professional women. The professional women answered more often in terms of enrichment and self-fulfillment. Although both groups mentioned the work involved and the demanding aspects of motherhood, the homemakers stressed duty and responsibility to a greater extent. The homemakers, in response to several questions, also indicated more anxiety about their children especially with regard to the child's achievements and they stressed their own inadequacies as mothers. In response to a projective picture showing a boy and his parents with a crutch in the background, the homemakers told more dramatic, depressed, and anxious stories. Particularly

noteworthy were differences between the groups in response to the growing independence of their children. While the professional women responded positively, the homemakers indicated ambivalence and regret. They seemed to be concerned about the loss of familiar patterns or their own importance.

There are no direct data in the Birnbaum study on the children themselves, but the pattern of the able, educated, full-time homemakers suggests that they would have shortcomings as mothers—particularly as their children approach adolescence. At that time, when the child needs a parent who can encourage independence and instill self-confidence, the anxieties and concerns of these women and their own frustrations would seem to operate as a handicap.

There are additional studies suggesting that when the work is a source of personal satisfaction for the mother, her role as mother is positively affected. Kliger (1954) found that the women who worked because of interest in the job were more likely than those who worked for financial reasons to feel that there was improvement in the child's behavior as a result of employment. Kappel and Lambert found that the daughters of full-time working mothers who indicated they were working for self-oriented reasons had higher self-esteem and evaluated both parents more highly than either the daughters of full-time working mothers who were working for family-oriented reasons, or the daughters of nonworking mothers. In this study the measures of the mother's motives for working and the child data were obtained independently. In the studies by Yarrow et al., Birnbaum, and Kliger the mother was the source of all of the data. Woods (1972) found, in a study of lower class Blacks almost all of whom were employed, that mothers who reported a positive attitude toward employment had children who obtained scores on the California Test of Personality indicating good social and personal adjustment.

Harassment. Another dimension of morale that has been studied is harassment. The general idea is that while maternal employment might have a positive, or no effect, under conflict-free circumstances, the difficulties in handling the dual roles of worker and mother can result in a strain which in turn has a negative effect on the child. Thus, the main thrust of Kappel and Lambert's argument is that part-time employment, and full-time employment when it involves minimal conflict, have a positive effect; full-time employment under most conditions, however, involves strain and therefore has adverse effects. Data reported by Douvan are consistent with this hypothesis. In her study of adolescent children in intact families, she found that the only group

of working-mother children that indicated adjustment problems were the children of full-time working mothers in the lower class. This group of working mothers was the one for whom the strain of the dual role seemed to be the greatest.

The study by Woods is in some ways a contrast to these two studies for she found the children of the full-time workers to be the best adjusted. Her sample was, however, as noted above, all lower class and from a population in which most mothers were employed. It included single-parent families. Under these circumstances, the full-time employed mothers may have been financially better off than the others in her sample and may have had more stable household arrangements to facilitate their employment. In fact, as already noted, the mother's positive attitude toward employment related to the child's adjustment, and Woods also found that the mother's satisfaction with child care arrangements contributed to a positive attitude toward employment. In a sense then, although full-time employment of lower class mothers did not seem to have adverse effects on the child as suggested in the other two studies, harassment as manifested in dissatisfaction with child care arrangements may have exerted such an influence.[4] To some extent the attitude toward employment generally may reflect the mother's feeling of harassment.

Guilt. In considering the mother's emotional state, data were discussed that suggest that employment may sometimes result in a generally higher morale that enables the mother to more adequately fulfill her mothering role. Under some conditions, however, the dual role of wage earner and mother may result in the mother's harassment and consequent difficulties in mothering. Still another possible emotional response to employment is that the working mother is guilty about her work because of the prevailing admonishments against maternal employment. While this may result in some appropriate compensation for her absence at home, it may also be overdone.

There is evidence that working mothers are very concerned about whether or not their employment is "bad" for their children and they often feel guilty. Even Birnbaum's happy professional mothers indicated frequent guilt feelings. Kliger also noted that the working mothers experienced anxiety and guilt and tried to compensate in their behavior toward their children. Some evidence for guilt on the part of the working mother and the effects of this on the child is provided in a study by Hoffman (1963a). In this study, third-through-sixth grade children of working mothers were studied--with each working-mother family matched to a nonworking-mother family on father's occupation, sex of

child, and ordinal position of the child. The data included questionnaires filled out by the children, personal interviews with the mothers, teacher ratings, and classroom sociometrics. The working mothers were divided into those who indicated that they liked working and those who disliked it. The overall pattern of the findings indicated that the working mothers who liked work, compared to the nonworking matched sample, had more positive interaction with the child, felt more sympathy and less anger toward the child in discipline situations, and used less severe discipline techniques. Had the study ended there, it might have been concluded that the working mother who enjoyed her work was a better mother than the nonworking woman. However, other differences suggested that this was not the case. The children of these working mothers appeared to be less assertive and less effective in their peer interactions. Their intellectual performance was rated lower by teachers and their scores on the school intelligence tests were lower. It is interesting also that these children helped somewhat less in household tasks than the children of nonworking mothers. Thus, the overall pattern seemed to indicate that the working mother who liked work not only tried to compensate for her employment, but may have actually overcompensated. These data were collected in 1957 when popular sentiment was opposed to maternal employment. As a result the women may have felt guilty about working. In trying to be a good mother, they may have gone too far since the children's behavior suggested a pattern of overprotection or "smother-love".

The mothers who did not like work, on the other hand, showed a very different pattern. They seemed less involved with the child, e.g., they indicated less frequent disciplining and somewhat fewer positive interactions, as compared to nonworking mothers. The children helped with household tasks to a greater extent than the children of nonworking mothers. They were also more assertive and hostile toward their peers. Their school performance, as rated by their teachers was lower, although they did not perform more poorly on the school intelligence tests. The total pattern suggested that these children were somewhat neglected in comparison to the nonworking matched sample. The working mothers who disliked work had less reason to feel guilty since they were working for other than self-oriented reasons.

The Effects on the Child. A complicated picture is presented if the data on the working mother's emotional state are considered in relation to the child characteristics cited earlier as most often linked to maternal employment: the child's attitudes, mental health and social adjustment,

independence-dependence specifically, and cognitive abilities and orientations. First, with respect to the attitude toward maternal employment itself, there are some indications that the tendency of working mothers' children to have a positive attitude is enhanced when the employment is accompanied by a minimum of conflict and harassment for the mother (Baruch, 1972a; King, McIntyre, & Axelson, 1968).

Moving on to the more complex dependent variables, in general, the data seem to indicate that when the maternal employment is satisfying to the mother--either because it is more easily incorporated into her activities or because it is intrinsically gratifying--the effects on the child are positive. The effects are more clearly positive when this situation is compared either to that of the full-time housewife who would really prefer to work (Yarrow et al., 1962), or to maternal employment when it is accompanied by strain and harassment (Douvan, 1963; Kappel & Lambert, 1972; Woods, 1972). There are even indications in the data that in some situations, as when the children are approaching adolescence and older, or when the mother is particularly educated and able, the working-mother role may be more satisfying than the role of full-time housewife even when the full-time housewife is not consciously yearning for employment; and that this may make the working mother a more positive influence on her children (Birnbaum, 1971). On the other hand, there is also evidence that the working mother with younger children who likes work might feel guilty and thus overcompensate, with adverse effects for the child (Hoffman, 1963a). Thus the data about the mother's emotional state suggest that the working mother who obtains satisfaction from her work, has adequate arrangements so that her dual role does not involve undue strain, and does not feel so guilty that she overcompensates is likely to do quite well, and under certain conditions better than the nonworking mother.

Childrearing Practices

Concern here is with whether the child of a working mother is subject to different childrearing practices and how these in turn affect his development. To some extent this topic is covered in other sections. In discussing the different role models presented in the working-mother families, for example, we indicated that the childrearing functions are more likely to be shared by both parents. The fact that the child then has a more balanced relationship with both parents has generally been viewed with favor. The active involvement of the father has been seen as conducive to high achievement in women—

particularly when he is supportive of independence and performance (Ginzberg, 1971; Hoffman, 1973), and to the social adjustment of boys (Hoffman, 1961), as well as to the general adjustment of both boys and girls (Dizard, 1968).

Data also indicate that the working mother's family is more likely to include someone outside the conjugal family who participates in the child care (Hoffman, 1958; U.S. Department of Labor, 1972). This situation undoubtedly operates as a selective factor since the presence of, say, the grandmother makes it easier for the mother to go to work; but the effects of this pattern have not been widely examined. The specific issue of multiple mothering and frequent turnover in babysitters will be discussed later in the chapter, primarily in terms of effects on the infant and young child where these issues are most meaningful.

In discussing the guilt sometimes felt by the working mothers it was suggested that they sometimes try to compensate for their employment--in some cases overdoing it. There is considerable evidence that working mothers particularly in the middle class do try to compensate. In some studies, this is made explicit by the respondents (Jones, Lundsteen, and Michael, 1968; Kliger, 1954; Rapaport and Rapaport, 1972); while in others it is revealed in the pattern of working-nonworking differences obtained. As examples of the latter, Yarrow and her colleagues found that the college educated working mothers compensated by having more planned activities with the children; and the professional mothers in Fisher's (1939) early study spent as many hours with their children as the full-time homemakers did. Finally, Jones, Lundsteen, and Michael (1967) found that the mothers employed as professionals spent more time reading with their children than did nonworking mothers, though this was part of a generally greater stress on educational goals--not just compensation for employment.

When the working mother tries to make up for her employment, she often makes certain implicit judgements about what the nonworking situation is like. These may be quite inaccurate. The working mothers in Hoffman's study who required less household help from their children than did the nonworking mothers are a case in point. And, in general, the nonworking mother is not necessarily interacting with her child as much as is imagined, or as pleasantly. There is a great deal of pluralistic ignorance about the mothering role and many mothers may be measuring themselves against--and trying to match--an overidealized image. It is possible that the nonworking mother spends relatively little

time in direct positive interaction with her child and thus the working mother's deliberate efforts might end up as more total positive interaction time. The comparisons of working and nonworking women that have been made with respect to the amount of time spent in total child care indicate that the nonworking women spend more time (Robinson, 1971; U.S. Department of Labor, 1971). These reports, however, are geared toward other purposes and are not helpful in providing information about parent-child interaction. In most cases, working and nonworking women are compared without regard to whether or not they are mothers. Obviously the nonworking women will include more mothers and thus they will, as a group, spend more time in child care. Even when only mothers are compared, the number of children in the family and the children's ages are not considered, and the kind of child care is often not specified. Just how much of the day does the nonworking mother spend interacting with the child? This is an unfortunate lacuna in our knowledge.

Independence training. One question that several studies have examined is whether the working mother encourages independence and maturity in her children more than the nonworking mother. The answer to this seems to depend on the age of the child and the social class or education of the mother. In the work of Yarrow and her colleagues, the working mothers who had not gone to college were more likely to indicate a stress on independence training and to assign the children a greater share of the household responsibilities. The college educated working mothers did not show this pattern and in fact showed a nonsignificant tendency in the opposite direction. The subjects in this study were similar to Hoffman's respondents in that the children were of elementary school age; thus it is interesting that the college educated working mothers in the former study exhibit a pattern similar to the working women who liked work in the latter. Burchinal and Lowell (1959) reported for somewhat older children that working mothers were more likely to stress independence, and the stress on independence and responsibility can be inferred as more characteristic of the working mothers in the national sample study of adolescent girls reported by Douvan, although the data rely more on what the girl is like than on parental childrearing practices. Birnbaum's study of professionally employed mothers also suggests an encouragement of independence. The age of these children varied. The study by Von Mering is often cited as evidence that professional mothers stressed independence training in elementary school age children, but since there were only eight mothers in

the sample such conclusions do not seem justified.[5]

A longitudinal study of lower class boys from intact families, begun in the Thirties, suggests that the relationship between maternal employment and independence training is contingent on the family milieu (McCord, McCord, and Thurber, 1963). Using data obtained when the boys were between ten and fifteen years old, the investigators found that among the families judged to be stable by a composite index, working mothers were less overprotective and more supportive of independence than nonworking mothers. These differences were not obtained for the unstable families, and the sons of the working mothers in this group proved to be the most dependent subjects in the entire sample. Because their mothers did not seem to be the most encouraging of dependency, their dependent behavior was interpreted by the authors as a response to feelings of rejection rather than to parental patterns of independence training.

The data are quite sketchy, but the general picture is that--except for the working mothers of younger children (elementary school age) who are educated or enjoy work and possibly the working mothers in unstable families--working mothers stress independence training more than nonworking mothers. This is consistent with what one would expect. It has already been indicated that the more educated working mothers try to compensate for their employment. Thus they would be expected to avoid pushing the younger children into maturity--stressing the nurturant aspects of their role to make up for their absence at work. As the child grows older, independence is called for. To the nonworking mother the move from protector and nurturer to independence trainer is often very difficult. For the working mother, on the other hand, the child's growing independence eases her role strain. Furthermore, the psychological threat of becoming less essential to the child is lessened by the presence of alternative roles and sources of self-worth.

The evidence for the effect of this pattern on the child is not definitely established. Two of the studies, Hoffman's and McCord, McCord, and Thurber's examined data at each of the three levels: employment status, childrearing behavior, and child characteristics; but the findings were complex and the interpretation ambiguous. Hoffman, for example, did not directly examine the relationship between maternal behavior and the child characteristics; McCord and her colleagues did, and failed to find a significant association between independence-training and independence. None of the other relevant maternal-

employment studies obtained independent data on the child. On the other hand, several child development studies that have no data on maternal employment have found that parental encouragement of independence relates to high achievement motivation, competence, and achievement behavior in both males and females (Baumrind and Black, 1967; Hoffman, 1972; Winterbottom, 1953).

Household responsibilities. Most of the data indicate that the child of the working mother has more household responsibilities (Douvan, 1963; Johnson, 1969; Roy, 1963; Walker, 1970b; Propper, 1972). The exception to this generalization is again the mothers of younger children who are more educated or who enjoy work. Although working mothers may sometimes deliberately avoid giving the child household responsibilities, such participation by children has generally been found to have a positive--not a negative--effect (Clauson, 1966; Johnson, 1969; Woods, 1972). Obviously, this does not mean overburdening the child, but expecting the child to be one of the effectively contributing members of the family seems conducive to the development of social adjustment and responsibility.

Parental control. What other effects of maternal employment on childrearing practices might be expected? One is that the working mother leaves her child more often without care or supervision. This will be the focus of the next section, but by and large there is little evidence that this is the case. It might be expected, on the other hand, that because of the demands imposed by the dual role of worker and mother, the working mother is stricter and imposes more conformity to a specified standard. That is, just as reality adaptation might lead her to encourage the child in independence and to take on household responsibilities, she might also be expected to demand more conformity to rules so that the household can function smoothly in her absence. There is some evidence for this pattern among the less educated groups. Yarrow and her colleagues, for example, found that the children of working mothers in their noncollege group were generally under firmer parental control than the children of nonworking mothers. Woods (1972) found more consistency between principles and practice in the discipline used by the full-time working mothers in her lower class, predominantly Black, sample; whereas Yarrow found greater inconsistency in her college-educated working mothers.

Still another possibility is that the working mother will be milder in discipline because of conscious efforts to compensate the child or because of higher morale. This hypothesis receives support in the previously mentioned findings reported by Hoffman (1963a). The working mothers, especially those

who liked work, used less severe discipline and indicated less hostility in the discipline situation than the nonworking mothers. It should be noted that the focus in this study was not on the content of the discipline, but its severity. Thus the data do not indicate whether the children were under more or less firm control but only that the discipline used was milder.

There are a few studies, such as those that compared the childrearing views of working and nonworking mothers and found no meaningful differences (Kliger, 1954; Powell, 1963), that are not reviewed here, but we have included most of the available data on maternal employment and childrearing practices. It is surprising how few investigations of maternal employment there are that have obtained data about actual childrearing behavior. Most of the studies have simply related employment to a child characteristic—and then later speculated about any relationship that might be found. If the daughters of working mothers are found to be more independent or higher achievers, one cannot tell if this is a product of the working mother as model, the fact that the father is more likely to have had an active part in the girl's upbringing, the result of the fathers in working-mother families being more likely to approve of and encourage competence in females, or whether it is because these girls were more likely to have been encouraged by their mothers to achieve independence and assume responsibilities. All of these intervening variables have been linked to female independence and achievement (Hoffman, 1972; Hoffman, 1973).

Maternal Absence and Supervision

The most persistent concern about maternal employment has to do with the sheer absence of the mother from the home while she is working and the fear that this represents a loss to the child in terms of supervision, love, or cognitive enrichment. Much of the earlier research on maternal employment and juvenile delinquency was based on this theory: the mother was working, the child was unsupervised, and thus he was a delinquent. Oddly enough there is some support for this theory despite the fact that maternal employment and delinquency do not relate as expected. In the study of lower class boys carried out by the Gluecks (1957), regularly employed mothers were no more likely to have delinquent sons than nonemployed mothers. However, inadequate supervision seemed to lead to delinquency whatever the mother's employment status, and employed mothers—whether employed regularly or occasionally—were more likely to provide inadequate supervision. The tie between supervision

and delinquency was also found in the study of McCord and McCord (1959), but in this study of lower class boys which, unlike the Gluecks', included only intact families there was little difference between the working and nonworking mothers with respect to the adequacy of supervision (McCord, McCord, and Thurber, 1963). Furthermore, even the tie between the adequacy of supervision and social adjustment is not conclusively established. In a recent study of lower class fifth grade children living in a predominantly black, urban, ghetto, inadequate supervision did not have an adverse effect on boys that was statistically demonstrable, although unsupervised girls clearly showed lower school adjustment scores on tests of social relations and cognitive abilities (Woods, 1972).[6] Delinquency per se was too rare in this sample for any comparison and the relationship between maternal employment and the adequacy of supervision was not examined.

Even less is known about the linkage of these three variables—maternal employment, supervision, and delinquency—in the middle class. Although middle class working mothers express concern about finding adequate supervision for their children, and although a number of publications stress the inadequacy of supervision in families in which the mother works (Low and Spindler, 1965), it is not clearly established that the children end up with less supervision in either social class. Furthermore, although the adequacy of supervision seems related to delinquency in the lower class, this relationship is not established for the middle class. Nye (1958), for example, found a curve-linear relationship--both high and low supervision moderately associated with delinquency. It may seem obvious that these three variables should be linked in the middle class and in the lower, but there is little empirical documentation.

Ignoring now the issue of supervision, what is the relationship between maternal employment and delinquency? In our previous review of this literature, we suggested that there did seem to be a relationship between maternal employment and delinquency in the middle class. This relationship was found by Nye (1963) using a self-report measure of delinquent behavior and Gold (1961) who used police contact as the measure, but in both studies the relationship was obtained for the middle class and not for the lower class.[7] The study by Glueck and Glueck, on the other hand, which included only the lower class found no tendency for the sons of regularly employed women to be delinquent despite the fact that their sample included broken homes, a variable that relates to both delinquency and maternal employment. They did find the sons of the "occasionally" employed women to be delinquent, but the occasionally-employed group was clearly more unstable than those in which the mother worked

regularly or not at all. They were more likely to have husbands with poor work habits and emotional disturbances, poor marriages, or to be widowed or divorced. In their discussion, the Gluecks saw the occasionally-employed mother as working "to escape household drudger, and parental responsibility," but we suggested that the question was not why they went to work--since their employment was obviously needed by the circumstances of their lives--but why they resisted regular employment? The delinquency of their sons seemed more a function of family instability, the inadequacies of the father, or something about the mothers not being employed more regularly--and not a function of maternal employment per se.

Two studies since the previous review supplement these ideas. McCord, McCord, and Thurber found no tendency for maternal employment to be associated with delinquency when the fmaily was stable, but in the unstable families the sons of working mothers did have a higher delinquency rate. In this study it was clear that the higher frequency of delinquency was not simply due to the instability; family instability did relate to delinquency but maternal employment in the unstable family further increased the risk.

The second study was the one by Woods. The dependent variables, as already noted, were more general and included the results of psychological tests and information gathered from teachers and school and community records. The findings indicate that the full-time, steady working mother seemed to be a positive factor in the child's adjustment. The subjects were 142 fifth graders, all the fifth graders in the school, and 108 had working mothers. Clearly, in this context, where maternal employment is the common, accepted pattern its meaning to parents and children will be quite different. The author suggests that full-time maternal employment is a requirement of family well-being in the economic circumstances of these families and as such is respected and appreciated.

Woods' interpretation is consistent with our own earlier hypotheses about the meaning of maternal employment particularly among Blacks (Hoffman, 1963) and with other data (Kreisberg, 1970). And, in general, a basic theme throughout both the earlier review and the present one is that the context within which maternal employment takes place--the meaning it has for the family and the social setting--will determine its effects. In addition, the positive influence of full-time maternal employment in the lower class raises the question again of why some lower class women resist full-time employment when

their situation obviously calls for it. Who are these nonworking or irregularly employed mothers? They may have less ego strength; less competence in terms of physical or emotional health, training or intellectual ability; or more children. The Gluecks' data indicate that the occasionally employed mothers were the most likely to have a history of delinquency themselves. In short, in addition to the value of the mother's employment to the family, the differences may reflect selective factors and the employed mothers in these circumstances may be healthier, more competent, or in better circumstances with respect to family size.[8]

Consistent with Woods' interpretation is the fact that the children in the study with extensive responsibility for the household tasks and the care of siblings showed higher school achievement.[9] Like their mothers they were cooperating with realistic family demands. The author is aware, however, that the causality might be reversed—i.e. that mothers give competent children more responsibilites. And there are also other interpretations: for example, firstborn children particularly in lower income families usually show higher academic performance and they are also the ones more likely to be given household tasks.

To summarize the theory that maternal employment means inadequate supervision has been primarily invoked to predict higher delinquency rates for the children of working mothers. There are data, although not very solid, that in the lower class, working mothers provide less adequate supervision for their children and that adequacy of supervision is linked to delinquency and social adjustment, but there is not evidence that the children of working mothers are more likely to be delinquent. The data suggest instead that full-time maternal employment in the very low social class groups represents a realistic response to economic stress and thus, because of selective factors or effects, may be correlated with more socially desirable characteristics in the child. Adequacy of supervision has rarely been studied in the middle class, although here there is some evidence for a higher delinquency rate among working mothers' children.

Maternal Deprivation

The school-aged child. For school-aged children, there is very little empirically to link maternal employment to maternal deprivation. Although Woods suggests that full-time employment per se may represent rejection in the middle class, there is no evidence of this. It is a commonly accepted assumption that maternal employment is interpreted by the child as rejection, an assumption made throughout the literature including even the recent

publications of many of the writers in the women's movement such as Epstein (1970). However, as pointed out earlier, the evidence suggests that the children of working mothers tend to support the idea of mothers working. Furthermore, in the middle class, as in the lower class, as the specific family or the social milieu comes to accept maternal employment as the natural order of things, the likelihood is decreased that the sheer fact that a mother is working would lead to a sense of being rejected.

The evidence as to whether the working mother actually does reject the school-aged child has already been covered in earlier sections of this review. The general pattern that the working mother, particularly in the middle class, makes a deliberate effort to compensate the child for her employment has been documented in a number of studies (Hoffman, 1963; Jones, Lundsteen and Michael, 1967; Kliger, 1954; Paloma, 1972; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1972; Yarrow, Scott, DeLeeuw, and Heinig, 1962). As indicated earlier also, the dissatisfied mother--whether employed or not and whether lower class or middle class--is less likely to be an adequate mother (Birnbaum, 1971; Woods, 1972; Yarrow et al, 1962). Although many studies looked for evidence (Hoffman, 1963c; Peterson, 1958; Propper, 1972; Siegel & Haas, 1963; Stolz, 1960; Yudkin & Holme, 1963), almost none was found, and the idea that maternal employment brings emotional deprivation to the school-aged child is not supported. In part this may be because the working mother is often not away from home except when the child is in school; and if her work is gratifying in some measure, if she does not feel unduly harassed, or if she quite deliberately sets about to do so, she may even spend more time in positive interaction with the child than does the nonworking mother. While this can sometimes be overdone and compensation can turn into overcompensation (Hoffman, 1963a), it may also be one of the important reasons why maternal employment does not appear to have a negative effect on the child. In drawing action conclusions from the research, it is important to keep this in mind. The absence of negative effects does not mean that the mother's employment is an irrelevant variable; it may mean that mothers have been sufficiently concerned to effectively counterbalance any possible adverse consequences.

Infancy. More recently attention has focused on the possible adverse effects of maternal employment on the infant and very young child. The importance of attachment and a one-to-one relationship in the early years has been demonstrated by Spitz (1945), Bowlby (1953), and others (Yarrow, 1964).

Although most of this research has been carried out in institutionalized settings and the most dramatic effects have been demonstrated among children whose infancy was spent in grossly deprived circumstances, it is nevertheless clear from this and other research that something important is happening during these early years and that there are critical periods when cognitive and affective inputs have major ramifications throughout the individual's life. Concern has been generated about this issue because of the recent increase of voluntary maternal employment among mothers of infants and young children. Thus, although the over-all impression given by the research of the last twenty years is that maternal employment has not had a demonstrable negative effect on the children, maternal employment during this period has been characterized by mothers dropping out of the labor force while there were preschool children in the home. Furthermore, day care centers have not been widely used in the United States as a means of caring for the preschool children of working mothers. As both of these patterns change, the effects of maternal employment must be reevaluated. In this section we will review the evidence that has been cited on one side or the other of these issues. As we shall see, however, we really know very little.

The research on extreme deprivation cited above has demonstrated that the infant needs a one-to-one relationship with an adult or he may suffer cognitive and affective loss that may--in extreme conditions--never be regained. The importance of interactions in which the adult responds to the child, and the child to the adult, in a reciprocal relationship has been particularly stressed (Bronfenbrenner, 1973). There is some evidence of a need for cuddling (Harlow & Harlow, 1966) and a need for environmental stimulation (Dennis & Najorian, 1957; Hunt, 1961). These studies are often cited as evidence of the importance of the mother's full-time presence in the home when the infant is young. There are, however, many fallacies involved in extending these data to the maternal employment situation.

Not only were the Bowlby and Spitz data obtained from studies of extremely barren, understaffed institutions, but later research suggested that the drastic effects they encountered might be avoided by increasing the staff-child ratio, by providing nurses who attended and responded to the infants' cries, smiles and vocalizations, and by providing a more stimulating visual environment (Rheingold, 1956; Rheingold & Bayley, 1959; Rheingold, Gewirtz, & Ross, 1959; Tizard, Cooperman, Joseph & Tizard, 1972; Yarrow, 1964). Further, the age of

the child, the duration of the institutionalization, the previous and subsequent experiences of the child, all affect the outcome. Most important, however, institutionalization is not the same as day care, and day care is not the same as maternal employment. The inappropriateness of the studies of institutionalized infants to maternal employment has also been noted by Yudkin and Holme (1963), by Yarrow (1964), and by Wortis (1968).

On th other hand, we now know a little more than simply that extreme deprivation has a negative effect. A number of child development studies suggest that within the normal range of parent-child interaction, the amount of expressive and vocal stimulation and response the mother gives to the infant affects his development (Kagan, 1969; Lewis and Goldberg, 1971; Moss, 1967; Schafer and Emerson, 1964). Furthermore, although the attempts to increase cognitive performance through day care programs have not been very successful, attempts to increase the mother-infant interaction in the home, such as in the program of Levenstein, appear to have more enduring positive effects (Bronfenbrenner, 1973; Levenstein, 1970; 1971). This may seem somewhat far afield rrom consideration of the effects of maternal employment on the child, since there is no evidence that employment actually affects the quantity or quality of the mother-infant interaction. However, the voluntary employment of mothers of infants and young children has not heretofore been common, and rarely studied. And on the basis of the recent early childhood research it is very important to find out whether the mother's employment will result in less (or more) personal stimulation and interaction for the infant.

There is no evidence that the caretaker has to be the mother or that this role is better filled by a male or a female. There is some evidence that the baby benefits from predictability in handling but whether this is true throughout infancy or only during certain periods is not clear, nor is it clear whether the different handling has any long-lasting effects. Studies of multiple mothering have produced conflicting results: there is a general view among child psychologists that at least one stable figure to whom the infant forms an attachment is necessary but even this is not definitely established and we do not know whether the periodic absence from the infant that is likely to go along with the mother's employment is sufficient to undermine the potential of the working mother as the object of the infant's attachment.

In addition to the importance of stimulation and interaction and the issue

of emotional attachment for the infant, there are less fully explored questions about the effects on the mother. The theory is held by Bowlby (1958) and others (Hess, 1970) that the mother-child interaction is important for the development of the mother's "attachment"—that an important source of maternal feeling is the experience of caring for the infant. Yudkin and Holme (1963), who generally approve of maternal employment in their review, stress this as one of the real dangers of full-time maternal employment when the child is young.

> "We would consider this need for a mother to develop a close and mutually satisfying relationship with her young infant one of the fundamental reasons why we oppose full-time work for mothers of children under 3 years. We do not say that it would not be possible to combine the two if children were cared for near their mothers so that they could see and be with each other during the day for parts of the day, and by such changes in households as will reduce the amount of time and energy needed for household chores. We are only stating that this occurs very rarely in our present society and is unlikely to be general in the foreseeable future and that the separation of children from their mothers for eight or nine hours a day, while the effects on the children may be counteracted by good substitute care, must have profound effects on the mother's own relationship with her young children and therefore on their relationship in the family as they grow older." (p. 131-132).

The issue of day care centers will not be discussed in any detail; however, our ignorance is almost as great here. While it is easy to argue that the studies of inadequate live-in institutions are not condemnations of day care, this argument does not prove day care benign. The positive effects of the day care programs expected from the Head Start experiment were not borne out. Where cognitive increases seemed to occur, they were often a function of the regression-toward-the-mean phenomenon, or, if there were control groups, the prevalent use of controls who represented a more deprived or less motivated population. Where the cognitive advantages were more real, they were not enduring (Bronfenbrenner, 1973). At the same time, neither were there negative effects of these programs (Caldwell et al., 1970). Obviously, the effects of day care centers for working mothers' children will depend

on the quality of the program, the time the child spends there, what happens to the child when he is not at the day care center, and what the alternatives are.

Arguments on either side of the issue of working mothers and day care use data from studies of the kibbutzim in Israel. Since all kibbutzim mothers work and the child lives most of the time in the child centers from infancy on, the relative health of kibbutzim children is often seen as relevant. Some investigators have been favorably impressed with the development of these children (Kohen-Raz, 1968; Rabkin & Rabkin, 1969) while others have noted at least some deleterious consequences (Bettelheim, 1969; Spiro, 1965). Thus, the children of the kibbutzim have been cited on either side of the argument. In fact, however, these data are probably quite irrelevant. According to Bronfenbrenner, these children spend more time each day interacting with their parents than children in the more conventional nuclear family arrangement and the time they spend together is less subject to distractions. The whole living arrangement is different, including the nature of the parents' work and the social context within which interaction takes place. The mother participates a great deal in the infant care; breast feeding is the norm; and both parents play daily with the child for long periods and without other diversions even as he matures. Thus, the Israeli kibbutz does not provide an example of maternal deprivation, American day care, or maternal employment as it is experienced in the United States.

Studies that directly test the hypothesis that a mother's employment during the child's infancy constitutes a form of maternal deprivation and has negative effects on the child are very difficult to carry out. If one compares infants, it is difficult to know what observed differences mean in terms of long-range adjustment. The few attempts to compare older children with respect to their mother's employment history have not produced definitive results. Burchinal (1963) compared a large sample of children in the seventh and eleventh grades according to whether their mothers had been employed when the child was three years old or less, as well as other specified patterns. The dependent variables were intelligence scores and school adjustment. Very few statistically significant results were obtained.

Moore (1963) compared children of elementary school age in Great Britain with respect to their mother's employment history. This was an intensive,

longitudinal study. Particular consideration was given to the nature of the child care arrangements that the working mother established. Interpretation of the results of this study, however, are complicated by the difficulty so often encountered in studies of this type--the groups contrasted are different in ways other than whether or not the mother was employed at certain points in the child's life. Thus, one observed difference was that the children who had been left by their mothers from early infancy showed more dependent attachment to their parents than any other group of children in the study and they also exhibited other symptoms of insecurity such as nail-biting and bad dreams. Moore also indicated that the mothers who started work early in the child's life did not themselves seem as attached to the child. While this latter observation could be a result of the mother's not having had as much close contact with the child--since attachment is, as noted above, a two-way relationship that is thought to arise out of interaction--nevertheless, it is also possible that these mothers were different from the start and the child's disturbance reflects this more than it reflects the mother's employment. Since these mothers had sought employment when few mothers of infants' worked, they may have been a more psychologically distinct group than one would now find. Indeed, in Moore's case studies, the description of these mothers does include patterns of emotional rejection and in some cases the mother explicitly went to work to escape from the child. Furthermore, the mothers who went to work full time before their children were two years old often had difficulty finding good mother substitute arrangements, and the Moore data also indicate that the stability of the child care arrangements was an important factor in affecting the child's adjustment. As an example of these case studies, a girl whose mother went to work at ten months is described and it is easy to imagine that the child's life even with unstable child care arrangements may have been better than being in the full-time care of her rejecting mother. Moore concludes "...in favorable circumstances many children can do without their mothers' constant presence from about the age of 3, spending part of their time with a good substitute mother or in a well-run nursery school without suffering any obvious ill effects and that in some cases benefit may accrue in the form of increased independence and decreased anxiety." (p. 123) Thus, Moore is quite optimistic about maternal employment in general based on the comparisons he makes between nonworking mothers and the various other patterns of employment. He is cautious about

employment prior to three, because his data leave this pattern of maternal employment still questionable. Moore's study then does not answer the question about whether or not the mother's employment when the child is yet an infant has a negative effect.

The problem of not having comparable groups plagues the studies of the effects of the intensity of maternal care and the studies of multiple mothering. In Caldwell's review of these studies (1964), she is as critical of her own (Caldwell et al., 1963) as of the others and she concludes, "There are at present no known studies available which have permitted intensity of maternal contact to vary while controlling for other factors (such as maternal personality and amount and type of paternal contact) which might influence the results." (p. 62)

Obviously the effects of maternal employment on the infant depend on the extent of the mother's absence and the nature of the substitute care--whether it is warm, stimulating, and stable. It is important to keep in mind, however, that whereas there are many studies of maternal employment and the school aged child and these by and large offer reassurance to the working mother, they tell us nothing about the situation with the younger child, and the latter has not been studied to any appreciable degree.

Maternal Employment and the Child's Academic Achievement

Probably the child characteristics that have most often been examined in relation to maternal employment are those pertaining to academic achievement. These will be reviewed here in a separate section since in most cases the data are too skimpy to be interpreted in terms of the five theoretical frameworks discussed above. Included are studies of academic aspirations--usually whether or not the child plans to go to college, achievement motivation, intelligence test scores, and school performance. Most of these studies have been done with neither a guiding theory nor even post hoc interpretations. As indicated earlier, the investigator rarely tries to explain why his data are consistent or inconsistent with other studies. The result is a hodge podge of findings. As also pointed out, the more recent studies have analyzed the data separately for each sex and social class and this has resulted in complex patterns, but if there is order in these patterns, it has not yet been detected. Until this issue is tackled with more theoretical sophistication, there will be little illumination.

College plans. Why would one expect college plans to be affected by the mother's employment? Possibly because it means extra money in the house, one

might predict that the children of the employed women—if the husbands' incomes were equated—would be more likely to plan on college. In fact, mothers often indicate they are working to help finance their children's college education. Possibly, daughters—modeling an active occupation-oriented mother—would be more likely to seek college when their mothers worked. This second hypothesis might be affected by what kind of work the mother engaged in—particularly what kind of work in relation to her education, and also to how the mother felt about her employment. None of these needed additional pieces of data are available in the pertinent studies, so an interpretation of the results is impossible.

As indicated earlier, Roy (1963) found among rural high school students that the children of working mothers were more likely to plan to go to college than the children of nonworking mothers. This was true for both sexes although a general impression from the tables is that the relationship is stronger for girls. (The report does not indicate if this sex difference is statistically significant.) On the other hand, the children of working mothers were less likely to go to college in the town sample. (Here the difference for girls appears very slight.) The investigator made his points: that even within the same generally rural area, residence in the town or on farms was a meaningful distinction and that maternal employment was not as bad as had been conjectured. But we are left with very little data with which to interpret these conclusions.

Banducci (1967) also examined the relationship between desires and plans for college and maternal employment—reporting the data separately by sex and father's occupation. His sample consisted of 3,014 Iowa high school seniors living with both parents. Three occupational levels are considered—laborer, skilled worker, and professional; these presumably represent socio-economic levels generally, and "professional" in this study does not necessarily connote high educational achievement. For most subjects, males and females, maternal employment was positively associated with desires and plans for college. But for the group classified as "professional" the opposite relationship prevailed—the daughters of working mothers were significantly less likely to expect to go to college, and the sons of working mothers were less likely to expect to go or to aspire for college, the latter relationship significant. How can we interpret this curious pattern of findings? Does the presence of a working mother indicate the lower socio-economic end of the

"professional" group? Are the working mothers in this group employed in a family business and thus the family is less education-oriented? As indicated below, the sons of these women also have lower grade point averages, so there is something different about them, but whether an effect of maternal employment has been uncovered or some other peculiarity of this particular subsample, it is impossible to say with the available information.

The several studies of college and professional women that indicate maternal employment is associated with more ambitious career goals have already been cited (Almquist and Angrist, 1971; Birnbaum, 1972; Ginzberg, 1971; Tangri, 1969).

Achievement motives. There are two studies of children's achievement motives in relation to maternal employment. Both measured achievement motives by scoring projective responses according to the scheme developed by McClelland and Atkinson (Atkinson, 1958). Powell obtained achievement motivation scores and maternal employment data longitudinally for subjects at each of the following ages: 9, 10, 11 and 12. The children of employed mothers showed higher achievement motivation at each age level, significantly for age nine. Several years after the Powell study was published, Jones, Lunsteen and Michael (1967) carried out a similar study with sixth graders. They found a parallel but nonsignificant relationship. No mention was made of the earlier study. How valuable it would have been if they had replicated Powell's work by presenting data for nine, ten, eleven and twelve year olds! Neither study analyzed the data separately for boys and girls although, as indicated earlier, Powell's hypotheses clearly suggest that the relationship should have been stronger for girls than for boys.

I.Q. scores. Two studies of the lower socio-economic class indicate that maternal employment and I.Q. scores are positively related. Woods (1972) in her study of fifth graders found that full-time maternal employment was associated with higher intelligence test scores as measured by the California Test of Mental Maturity and Rieber and Womack (1967), studying pre-schoolers, found that more of the children of working mothers fell in the highest quartile on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test. Both of these studies included Blacks and single-parent families and the latter also included families of Latin American background.

The researchers who examined the relationship between maternal employment and intelligence test scores in more middle class samples found more complex results. Hoffman (1963a) in a sample of white, intact families found that the

children of working mothers who liked work had lower I.Q. scores than the matched children of nonworking mothers. The children of the working mothers who disliked work, however, were not different from the nonworking matched group.

A particularly interesting—and complicated—analysis is presented by Rees and Palmer (1970). These investigators worked with longitudinal data from a number of different studies. Their samples varied but by and large they represented a higher socio-economic group than the above three studies. Furthermore, Rees and Palmer analyzed their data separately for boys and girls, and found important differences. In general, maternal employment related to high I.Q. in girls and low I.Q. in boys. Using as the independent variable the mother's employment status when the child was 15, they found that the daughters of working mothers had higher I.Q.'s at age 6 and around age 15, although there was no relationship for age 12. Was the working mother of the fifteen year old also working when the child was six? We do not know. The relationships for the boys were the opposite. The data are interpreted by the investigators as reflecting a general association between nontraditional femininity and higher I.Q. in girls: that is, the working mother represented to her daughter a less traditional view of femininity.[10] This theory suggesting a negative relationship between traditional femininity and achievement in girls has been discussed more fully by Maccoby (1968) and by Hoffman (1972); and data tying maternal employment to nontraditional femininity was discussed earlier in this chapter.

Academic performance. Hoffman found that the elementary school aged children of working mothers showed lower school performance than the matched sample with nonworking mothers. Teacher ratings of performance were used to measure the dependent variable. Nolan (1963) found no difference for rural elementary school children and a difference favoring the children of working mothers in high school, but this study did not even control on social class. Neither of these studies reported the data separately by sex.

Two more recent studies of elementary school children were carried out in which attention was directed to whether or not the mother was employed in a professional capacity. In one, the reading achievement of the sixth grade children of professionally employed mothers was compared to the reading achievement of full-time housewives' children who were matched by social class, sex, age and I.Q. (Jones, Lundsteen, & Michael, 1967). The study indicated

that the children of the professional mothers were more proficient. It also suggested why, for these parents spent more time in reading activities with the children and had more plans for the chilren's education, there were more books in the home, and the mothers were better educated. The data were not analyzed separately for boys and girls. It is important to point out as one implication of this study that matching on social class is not the same as matching on education, and matching on the father's occupation is not the same as matching on income or life style.

The difference between employed mothers and professionally employed mothers is also indicated in the study by Frankel (1964) of intellectually gifted boys. High and low achievers, matched on I.Q. scores, were compared. The low achievers were more likely to have working mothers, but the high achievers were more likely to have professional mothers. Although the socio-economic status as conventionally measured did not differentiate the groups, the education of the mothers (and possibly both parents) did. While the higher achievement of the children of professional mothers is easily interpreted, it is not clear why the low achievers tended to have nonprofessional working mothers. Frankel describes these women impressionistically as dissatisfied and hostile. This judgement may or may not be valid, but it would be worthwhile to compare women working at the various levels of jobs in terms of both selective factors and the effects of employment on the mother's psychological state. It might be noted that in Levine's study of women's career choice (1968), the mother's education was found to be more important than whether or not the mother worked; Tangri (1972) found the mother's employment the more important.

Moving into the high school age, most studies found no differences in school achievement. Thus neither Nye (1963) nor Nelson (1969) reported significant differences. Neither did Kiedel (1970) in a comparison that matched on academic ability. In Burchinal's data (1963) one of the few relationships that remained significant despite controls introduced on socio-economic status was the lower school grades of the 11th grade boys whose mothers were currently working. And Roy (1963) also found adolescent sons of working mothers to have lower school grades although this was only in his town sample. Banducci also reported differences in grades—sons of working mothers in the socio-economic class called "professional" had significantly lower grades than the sons of nonworking mothers, but in the class labeled

"skilled worker" the opposite relationship prevailed—the sons of working mothers having significantly higher grades than the sons of the nonworkers. No other differences in school grades were significant. Of the several comparisons by Banducci of scores on the Iowa Tests of Educational Development, a standardized achievement measure, the sons of working mothers in the lowest socio-economic group, "laborers", had higher scores than the nonworking-mother sons in that class. Brown (1970) found lower scores on the California Achievement Test for the middle class sons of working mothers.

As one final study, Farley compared the self-reported grade point averages of students in an introductory sociology course at Cornell University. The males who indicated their mothers were employed also reported significantly higher grades. There was no relationship for females. No variables were controlled. If the data were more solidly established it would be interesting since, as has already been indicated, a number of studies indicate that maternal employment is prevalent in the backgrounds of women who pursue professional careers, but whether or not their college grades were better has not been established.

Summary of the findings on academic achievement. In summary, although there are some indications that maternal employment is positively associated with children's college plans, the opposite relationship has occasionally been shown. Per capita family income has not been controlled in these studies, however, and maternal employment may sometimes reflect low income as well as indicate augmented income.

There is evidence, however, that daughters of working mothers have higher career aspirations and achievements. Furthermore, in one study, daughters of working mothers obtained higher intelligence test scores. Two of the theories discussed in this paper, the modeling theory and the theory that independence training is stressed by working mothers, are particularly pertinent to the achievement of girls and both theories predict higher achievement for the daughters of working mothers.

On the other hand, we suggested in an earlier review (Hoffman, 1963c) that sons of working mothers may not fare so well. The present analysis of the empirical data supports this view. Though it is by no means established, the data suggest that the sons of working mothers in the middle class show lower academic performance. In the lower class, however, better academic performance is associated with maternal employment for both sexes.

Summary

The research reported in this review has been organized around five general theories that seem to be implicitly involved in the expectation that maternal employment will affect the child. These theories are not mutually exclusive and the various processes in fact interact--sometimes mutually reinforcing, sometimes counteracting. An aim of the social scientist interested in this topic should be to ascertain the conditions under which one process or another would operate and how these interact. It is important to understand the effects of maternal employment at this level so that predictions and action implications are meaningful in the face of a changing society.

The first theory discussed states that maternal employment affects the child, particularly the daughter, because the role model provided by working and nonworking mothers differs. Although there is no single study that adequately investigates the hypothesis, accumulated findings provide considerable support. In general, maternal employment is associated with less traditional sex role concepts and a higher evaluation of female competence. Daughters of working mothers almost consistently compare positively with daughters of nonworking mothers particularly with respect to independence and achievement-related variables. The fact that the positive effects of maternal employment are much less clear for sons may be because the modeling theory is less direct for them, and depends on how maternal employment affects the father's role.

The second theory dealt with the effects of the mother's emotional state on the child, and three different states were considered as mediating variables tying the mother's employment status to the child's behavior: morale or satisfactions from one's employment status, harassment because of the dual role demands, and guilt toward the child often felt by working mothers. There is some evidence for the occurrence of all these processes. Data support the idea that when the mother is satisfied with her employment status, she does a better job; and in one study the full-time mother who avoids employment because of her "duty" to the child obtained the lowest scores on "adequacy of mothering". On the other hand, among mothers of young children and better educated working mothers, employment satisfaction may be marred by too much guilt. Harassment is more often a lower class pattern, since the working mother in the lower class is less likely to work out of free choice, and has more role strain because of large family

size, and more difficulty in making adequate child care arrangements. The data, on the whole, suggest that the working mother who obtains personal satisfactions from employment, does not have excessive guilt, and has adequate household arrangements is likely to perform as well as the nonworking mother or better, but that the mother's emotional state is an important mediating variable.

Third, the theory that maternal employment affected the child through its influence on child rearing practices, was discussed and there were few studies that considered the relationships between each of the three levels. Thus, in some studies, maternal employment has been shown to increase the father's participation in childrearing, while in other studies the active participation of the father has been shown to have a positive effect on the child, but until an investigator measures all three levels and examines the relationship amongst them, it is not certain that there is a direct connection or even that the father's activities that result from maternal employment are the same ones that have a positive effect. As another case in point, with certain exceptions as when the child is young, working mothers seem to stress independence training more than nonworking mothers and give their children more household responsibilities. Both of these patterns have been linked to independence, achievement, and responsibility in children, but these relationships were not examined in the maternal employment studies.

There is evidence that working mothers particularly in the middle class deliberately try to compensate for their employment by planning specific activities and times for the child; whether this compensation matches the situation where the mother is not employed is unknown. Finally, data indicate that among the lower class, working mothers tend to excercise firmer controls.

The fourth hypothesis considered was that the working mother provides less adequate supervision, and this has often been the basis for the prediction that the children of working mothers are more likely to be juvenile delinquents. The accumulated findings suggest that in the lower class, the children of working mothers are not more likely to be delinquent although there is some evidence that lower class working mothers provide less adequate supervision and that less adequate supervision is linked to delinquency. In the middle class, on the other hand, maternal employment has not been linked to inadequate supervision nor inadequate supervision to delinquency, but there is some indication that maternal employment and delinquency are related.

The fifth hypothesis was that the working mother's child is a victim of maternal deprivation. Studies of the school aged child offer no support for this hypothesis. Almost no research, however, has been carried out on the effects of maternal employment on the infant and preschool child. Recent child development research has indicated the importance of the early mother-child interaction. No data are available, however, on whether maternal employment affects the amount of stimulation and person-to-person interaction available to the infant, whether the mother's absence interferes with her serving as the stable adult figure needed by the infant, or whether the attachment of the infant to the mother or the mother to the infant is jeopardized. These questions are extremely important ones to investigate since a rapidly increasing percentage of mothers of infants are seeking employment.

The data on maternal employment and child's academic achievement were reviewed in a separate section because most of these data are from simple, two-level studies where it was impossible to say what process was involved. These findings constitute a kaleidoscope, but even if every study had produced the same empirical results they would not have been very useful. If, for example, the data uniformly indicated that the children of working mothers had higher cognitive abilities, but did not indicate the process by means of which this effect occurred, we would be unable to say whether the effect would continue as other aspects of the situation changed. If, for example, the relationship existed because the working mothers were conscientiously making up for their absence, then as working mothers adopted a more casual attitude about their employment, this effect might disappear. Over-eagerness to demonstrate that maternal employment is good, bad, or has no effect, may result in misleading conclusions.

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Footnotes

[1]When asked to indicate which activities women liked and disliked the daughters of working mothers reported more liking and fewer disliking to all activities--household, work, and recreation.

[2]The fact that daughters of working mothers are lower on traditional femininity should be kept in mind in evaluating studies like Nelson's (1971) which use paper-and-pencil personality inventories. Many of these inventories are biased toward the very questionable assumption that traditional femininity is the healthy pattern for girls (Henshel, 1971; Johnson, 1972; Lunneborg, 1968).

[3]This finding was obtained from Tables 3 and 5 and is not discussed by Kappel and Lambert, 1972.

[4]The study does not indicate whether the woman's satisfaction reflected the objective conditions or not; the mother's perceptions and the child's report of the situation were significantly but not highly related.

[5]Propper (.972) found that the adolescent children of working mothers were more likely to report disagreements with parents but were not different from the children of nonworking mothers with respect to feelings of closeness to parents, parental interest, or support. The over-all pattern may indicate more tolerance of disagreement by the working mothers rather than a more strained relationship. This interpretation fits well with the general picture of working mothers encouraging independence and autonomy in adolescent children.

[6]The sex differences in the Woods study are both intriguing and difficult to interpret. In most child development studies, the girls show ill effects from too <u>much</u> supervision or control while the boys typically suffer from too little (Becker, 1964; Bronfenbrenner, 1961; Hoffman, 1972). It is felt by some investigators that this reflects the higher level of control generally exercised over girls so that the low end of the scale for girls is not as low as for boys--either objectively or subjectively. However, there have been very few child development studies of the lower class and it is possbile that the lack of supervision is more extreme than in the typical child development sample. Thus the middle class girl who is unsupervised relative to other middle class girls may not represent the level of neglect encountered by Woods.

[7]There are two other recent studies (Brown, 1970; Riege, 1972) in which the investigators examined the relationship between maternal employment and juvenile delinquency. No relationship was found. Since there was no separate examination by social class or attention to relevant mediating variables these studies are not illuminating in this discussion.

[8]There are data that indicate that children from large families, particularly in the lower class, show lower school performance than children from smaller families (Clauson & Clauson, 1973). Perhaps then, it is not that full-time employment has a positive effect, but that the full-time employed have fewer children and the positive effect is a function of smaller family size.

[9]These findings seem somewhat inconsistent with Douvan's suggestion (1963) that the lower class daughters of full-time working mothers were overburdened with household responsibilities. Douvan's subjects were older and thus it is possible that they were more heavily burdened than the fifth graders and more resentful of their duties. The Douvan sample was also White while Woods' was predominantly Black.

[10]Another finding of their analysis that is consistent with this interpretation is that girls who have a brother either just older or just younger also have higher I.Q.'s.